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ABSTRACT

The report provided findings from a recent Texas study of historical change in educational status projections of rural Black and White teenage boys and girls. The specific research objectives were to determine: (1) the nature and extent of historical change patterns occurring, by race, for educational aspiration, expectation, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation; and (2) the nature of association between place of residence and the patterns of change in the aspects of their educational status projections specified above. Identical surveys of high school sophomores from 3 rural, nonmetropolitan East Texas counties carried out in 1966 and 1972 provided the data. A total of 941 males and females were interviewed. Findings indicated that boys and girls of both races demonstrated change in the same direction between 1966 and 1973 for aspiration level, expectation level, and intensity of aspiration, although a consistent racial difference in magnitude of change was observed. Specific patterns of change were listed in outline form under 2 categories--general and race. A general suggestion for future research involving interpretation of data on youths' educational projections can be gleaned from an examination of the parallel analysis of data presented--quantitative (means) and qualitative (%distribution). (FF)

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HISTORICAL CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL STATUS PROJECTIONS OF EAST TEXAS HIGH SCHOOL SOPHOMORES: A RACIAL COMPARISON, 1966-1972*

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PREVIEW

Major General Findings: Historical Changes, 1966-1972 (See Table 22)

A. Racial Similarities in Nature of Change

1. Aspirations were lowered.

2. Expectations were lowered.

3. Intensity of Aspiration decreased.

B. Racial Differences in Nature of Change

1. Anticipatory Goal Deflection - decreased for Black youth and increased for White youth.

2. Certainty of attaining educational expectations increased slightly for White youth and decreased slightly for Black youth.

C. Impact of Place of Residence on Change

Little if any, regardless of race.

INTRODUCTION

For some years social scientists have asserted that mobility aspirations and expectations have been generally rising among disadvantaged youth (Hughes, 1965:1135; Broom and Glenn, 1965:182-183; Dyckman, 1966:802-803). Yet, little hard data can be found to provide evidence for this presumed tendency (Dowdell, 1972). In fact, the author of this effort scheduled a panel discussion at the 1970 Rural Sociological Society meetings aimed at bringing to light any empirical findings that might exist to test this frequent assertion.[1/] Except for some limited findings from Walter Slocum, indicating that the educational aspirations of farm-reared youth in the state of Washington had risen over the last decade, nothing was turned up at this session.

It was the revealed lack of a solid empirical basis for the commonly accepted "truth"--mobility aspirations of disadvantaged youth are rising--that provided the stimulus for the creation of an agreement among several Rural Sociologists in the South to explore this proposition, taking advantage of a base-line study they cooperated on earlier in 1966 and 1967.[2/] These researchers, located in Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, replicated as exactly as possible the operations of the earlier study in a resurvey of the same areas six years after the original one was completed.[3/] This then provided equivalent data from age-matched respondents coming from the same geographical area at two different times, six years apart. Data now exists for determining the nature of historical change in the status projections, values, and life orientations among a variety of types of youth across the South.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This report is intended to provide findings from a recent Texas study of historical change in educational status projections of rural black and white teenage boys and girls.

The specific research objectives of the analysis to be reported here were as follows:

1. To determine the nature and extent of patterns of historical change occurring among the boys and girls studied by race in reference to educational aspiration, expectation, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation.

2. To determine the nature of the association between type of place of residence of the youth studied and the patterns of change in the aspects of their educational status projections specified above.

RELEVANT PAST RESEARCH

This effort is intended to be a straightforward empirical description. It is designed to answer open-ended questions about the nature of change taking place in the way youth orient themselves toward their future roles in society. There is little in the way of past research or explicit theory to provide clear guidance for this or other similar analyses (Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1968; Kuvlesky, 1969; Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970). As was mentioned previously, a report by Sisson (1968) on an earlier historical period did indicate that farm youth in one state (Washington) had raised their educational aspirations dramatically. This is the only past research we could locate directly relevant to this effort. On the other hand, Goodell (1970) reporting on an analysis of change in occupational status projections from the same set of data we are using, concludes that occupational projections of farm Texas rural

youth are falling slightly and changing qualitatively (type of job projected). Findings from a parallel study in Alabama over the same period indicate that rural youth more often desire open country residence and less often desire to live in a large city now as compared with six years ago (Dunkelberger and Cain, 1973).

In a forthcoming report Dowdell (1974), develops an extensive analysis of broad macro social changes that have occurred and are thought to be occurring and which could bring about change in status projections of youth. Obviously, if there is any validity to Reich's (1970) "greening of America" thesis, one would expect to see youth at least lowering their valuation of achieved status goals relative to other life ends and also perhaps the level of education they aspire to. The results of this kind of general shift in societal values would impact across the board on all kinds of youth. On the other hand, the "liberation" movements now in existence ("Women's Lib," "Black Power," "La Raza," and etc.) should produce a converse pattern of change--raising status projections--for selected groupings of the population if they are impacting generally, while leaving other groupings untouched (White, middle-class, males). Obviously, depending on what frame of reference one chooses to use, rationales could be developed for predicting that youth's status projections are rising or falling over time. In all probability none of these broad movements are impacting on all relevant youth in equal measure and probably are all impacting on some youth in any broad population grouping to some extent. The conclusion I have reached from scant extant research is that most rural

youth and most minority youth have experienced an increase in level of aspiration over the last several decades and at present desire the same kind of "good life" as that desired by most middle-class youth--college education, professional or technical jobs, and etc., (Kuvlesky, 1973).

SOURCE AND COLLECTION OF DATA

Identical surveys of high school sophomores from three rural, nonmetropolitan East Texas counties carried out in 1966 and 1972 provided the data to be analyzed here. Dowdall (1973) provides a detailed comparison of the study counties, schools and respondents over the two interview periods and also a detailed evaluation of comparability between the two contacts in field operations, interviewing procedures, and initial data processing. Consequently, we will simply provide a brief overview largely abstracted from his statements.

The three counties involved in this study--Burleson, Leon, and San Jacinto--were originally selected purposefully, using the following criteria: relative high proportion of Blacks and low-income families, predominantly or entirely rural, and location in a nonmetropolitan area not contiguous to a metropolitan one--see APPENDIX A for more detailed descriptions (Ohlendorf, 1967). The original 23 high schools located in these study counties in 1966 decreased to only ten by 1972. The decrease was due largely to consolidation of previously segregated Black and White schools. In fact, Dowdall (1973:17) concludes that "the only major significant change between 1966 and 1972 regarding the populations appears to be the introduction of racial integration into all of the schools." Of course, this constitutes a major change in the structure of the community and the educational experiences of local youth.

which may influence their orientations toward subsequent educational attainment.

We were extremely careful to try and replicate as exactly as possible our 1968 operations in the 1972 context. At both time periods all sophomores in school the day of the interview were included in a group administration of the questionnaire. In both surveys about 92% of the sophomores enrolled in the schools were interviewed, producing very comparable numbers of students by race and sex for the two contexts, Table 1. Identical questionnaires were used to classify the same way for both contexts, except that the one used in 1972 had an added attachment of questions on value orientations.[6/]

Table 1. High School Sophomores Interviewed in Rural East Texas Study Area in 1968 and 1972 by Race and Sex.

Race	1968			1972		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
			No.			
Black	90	99	189	88	94	182
White	140	130	270	138	138	276
Total	243	230	473	226	232	458

CONCEPTS, INSTRUMENTS, AND MEASUREMENTS

In every way possible we attempted to replicate as exactly as possible all the criterion questions, data operations, and measurement devices utilized in 1966 for our 1972 study.[5] In fact, relative to measurement and analysis decisions, the prior analysis from the 1966 data reported by Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky (1968) was used as a model for initial work on the 1972 data.

The conceptual framework utilized here has been reported many times and does not need to be reiterated in detail here (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1969; Knight, Salmon, and Kuvlesky, 1973; Kuvlesky, 1974). However, details on the specification of the conceptual elements utilized (as indicated in the research objectives), the instruments utilized to tap them, and the measurement of responses elicited are discussed elsewhere (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968:275-278). However, to orient the reader, a brief summary overview of the critical aspects of the conceptual scheme utilized is presented below. Details on criterion questions, measurement devices, and design of analysis are presented later at relevant points in the "Analysis and Findings" section.

A conceptual scheme presented by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), begins with the analytical distinction between aspiration (desired attainment) and expectation (anticipated attainment) and provides additional distinctions. The divergence, if any, between the desired and anticipated status goals within a particular area of potential status attainment (i.e., education) is labeled "anticipatory goal deflection" (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968). While most past research

has focused on projected status attainment levels, Kuvlesky and Bealer call attention to another analytical dimension of status projections which they call the "orientation element." This idea refers to the strength of orientation that a person maintains toward the status object involved in either aspiration or expectation. In reference to aspiration this would be the strength of desire associated with obtaining the status goal specified and is referred to as "intensity of aspiration" (Merton, 1957:171). The comparable element involved in expectation is labeled "certainty of expectation." These conceptual elements have been discussed in detail and tested in research on a variety of populations.[6/]

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The findings are presented in two parts following the two research objectives specified earlier. The first part consists of a racial comparison by use of historical variation in educational status projection levels, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation. The second part presents the results of our attempt to determine how type of place of residence is associated with patterns of historical change noted for the educational orientations just mentioned.

The analysis is largely based on comparisons of 1966 and 1972 distributions of respondents on measures of the educational orientations involved by race and sex and the use of Chi Square test results to assist in interpreting the significance of historical variation. At the same time, parametric measures (mean and variance) are utilized

where appropriate and useful.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE BY RACE

Level of Aspiration and Expectation[7]

A summary comparison of differences between 1966 and 1972 mean level scores by race and sex for both aspirations and expectations demonstrates a consistent, slight decrease in level of projections, Table 2. Not much variation exists in these historical variations among the race-sex groupings, except for Black males. This grouping showed a substantially greater decline than others on both types of status projections--dropping almost one full level (on a scale of six). In addition, in both cases, Black girls demonstrated slightly more change than their White counterparts. Historical change indicated by variance measures were not great and do not reveal a patterned racial difference, Table 2.

The comparison of 1966 and 1972 mean level scores clearly indicate a consistent parallel lowering of both aspirations and expectations and a tendency for a somewhat greater change among Blacks as compared with Whites. However, this comparison of measures of central tendency does not give a good picture of the actual magnitude of change that took place and obscures the qualitative (categorical) nature of the patterning of this change (compare Table 2 with Tables 3-6). A detailed examination of percentage distributions between the two time periods reveals a set of very interesting findings.

Aspirations

The historical change noted in type of aspiration among Blacks of both sexes is in general very consistent, Tables 3 and 4. In both

Table 1. Summary Comparisons of Means and Variances of Levels of Educational Aspirations and Expectations by Race-Sex Types of Respondents Over Two Study Periods.

Race-Sex Types	Mean Scores			Variances		
	1969	1973	Diff.	1969	1973	Diff.
A. Aspirations						
Black-Females	5.5	6.7	+0.5	1.8	1.5	-0.3
Black-Males	5.6	6.7	+0.9	2.1	1.6	+0.5
White-Females	6.9	6.5	-0.6	1.6	1.0	+0.2
White-Males	5.5	6.0	-0.6	2.1	1.5	+0.6
B. Expectations						
Black-Females	5.1	6.2	-0.6	2.5	1.5	-0.7
Black-Males	5.2	6.6	-0.9	1.6	2.1	+0.1
White-Females	6.6	6.2	-0.6	1.5	1.6	-0.1
White-Males	6.7	6.6	-0.1	1.9	2.1	+0.2

Table 3. Historical Changes in Educational Aspirations of Rural East Texas Boys: 1966-1972.

ASPIRATIONS	BLACK 1966 (N=96)	BLACK 1972 (N=94)	BLACK Change	WHITE 1966 (N=143)	WHITE 1972 (N=138)	WHITE Change
(1) Quit H.S.	5.2	5.3	+ 0.1	4.2	8.0	+ 3.8
(2) H.S. Grad.	1.0	10.6	+ 9.6	9.8	12.3	+ 2.5
(3) H.S. + Tech.	22.9	42.6	+19.7	18.2	27.5	+ 9.3
(4) Jr. College	7.3	7.5	+ 0.2	9.1	8.0	- 1.1
(5) College Grad.	25.0	17.0	- 8.0	41.9	31.2	-10.7
(6) Graduate Study	38.6	17.0	-21.6	16.8	13.0	- 3.8
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Mean Level Scores	5.6	4.7	- 0.9	5.2	4.8	- 0.4
	X^2=22.49	d.f.=5	P<.001	X^2=7.75	d.f.=5	.10<P<.20

Table 4. Historical Changes in Educational Aspirations of Rural East Texas Girls: 1966-1972

ASPIRATIONS	BLACK 1966 (N=99)	BLACK 1972 (N=94)	BLACK Change	WHITE 1966 (N=131)	WHITE 1972 (N=138)	WHITE Change
(1) Quit H.S.	1.0	2.1	+ 1.1	0.8	4.3	+ 3.
(2) H.S. Grad.	2.0	4.2	+ 2.2	6.1	13.8	+ 7.7
(3) H.S. + Tech.	45.5	62.8	+17.3	45.8	44.2	- 1.6
(4) Jr. College	3.0	1.1	- 1.9	9.2	5.1	- 4.1
(5) College Grad.	22.2	18.1	- 4.1	24.4	27.5	+ 3.1
(6) Graduate Study	26.3	11.7	-14.6	13.7	5.1	- 8.6
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Mean Level Scores	5.2	4.7	- 0.5	4.9	4.5	- 0.4
	X^2=10.48	d.f.=5	.05<P<.10	X^2=14.56	d.f.=5	.01<P<.02

cases a marked decline was noted in the proportion desiring a college education, particularly in reference to graduate study, and the greatest increase--a marked one--was in reference to technical training after graduation from high school. In both cases the three lowest levels of educational aspiration demonstrated an increase in proportion over the six year time span of the study and the two highest (college grad and graduate study) demonstrated a decline.

The difference relative to historical change in types of aspirations among White respondents were found to be significant statistically for girls but not for boys, Tables 3 and 4. However, while the magnitude of change was less for these respondents as compared to Blacks, the direction of change was clearly in the same direction--down. White males demonstrated a pattern of historical change much like that already described for Blacks--decrease in desire for college education and an increase in desire for lower levels of educational attainment, particularly high school and vocational training. On the other hand, White girls did not demonstrate any categorical change as high or low as the other groups nor as consistent a general pattern of change. For example, this grouping was the only one to indicate an increase--a slight one--in desire at the level, "College Grad."

One striking finding, although it involves small numbers of respondents, is the consistent tendency for all four groupings to desire and expect to drop out of high school more often in 1972, Tables 3 and 4. What is more, Whites changed markedly more in this respect than did Blacks in the case of each sex. In fact, the nature of racial differences were reversed from 1966 to 1972 in this regard:

proportionately more Whites than Blacks both desired and expected to drop out of high school in 1972.

Another general qualitative shift in aspirations over these six years was the decline in desire for graduate study, particularly among Black youth, Tables 3 and 4. A rather marked difference in rate of change exists among the two racial groupings. A much larger decrease occurred for Blacks in this regard between 1966 and 1972 than among White. In fact, the percentage decrease of Blacks desiring graduate study over the six year span was over 20% for both boys and girls: this just about equals the size of the increases they demonstrated in desire for technical training after graduating from high school. This pattern of marked change was also reflected in educational expectations, though magnitudes of change were lower, Tables 5 and 6. By 1972 over a third of the Black boys and two-thirds of the Black girls specified high school graduation + technical training as their lifetime educational goal and only about 10% of each wanted to go to graduate school.

Expectations

The patterning of historical differences, particularly across racial types, in reference to expectations paralleled very closely what has already been reported for aspirations, Tables 5 and 6. Some particular patterns of change, however, might be worthy of special notation. Again, it can be observed that in reference to both sexes there was a larger increase in expecting to drop out of school among Whites as compared with Blacks; however, unlike for aspirations,

the nature of racial difference in expectation to drop out did not change markedly over the study period, Tables 5 and 6. Another interesting difference observed between racial types, is that Blacks markedly increased in their expectation to attain vocational training after high school, while White youth either did not change (male) or actually decreased (female) in expecting this type of education.

Status Level Analysis

Collapsing the original six educational categories into three broader status level ones corresponding to rough social class groupings provides even a clearer picture of the direction and magnitude of historical changes that took place in the educational aspirations and expectations of these youth, Table 7. The downward shift brought about between 1966 and 1972 is substantial. The decreasing desire for college level education and conversely the increasing interest in post high school training other than college, is markedly observable among all race-sex groupings, except White females. A general increase in low level goals and expectations is apparent. In fact, the rather dramatic increases of over 10% at this level for Black boys and White girls should produce some concern among those concerned about the already relative disadvantaged position of rural youth relative to urban youth in attainment of social mobility (Lipset, 1959; Kuvlesky, 1973).

Table 5. Historical Changes in Educational Expectations of Rural East Texas Boys: 1966-1972.

EXPECTATIONS	BLACK			WHITE		
	1966 (N=96)	1972 (N=94)	Change	1966 (N=143)	1972 (N=138)	Change
(1) Quit H.S.	6.3	5.4	- 0.9	3.5	5.8	+ 2.3
(2) H.S. Grad.	1.0	14.9	+13.9	16.1	20.3	+ 4.2
(3) H.S. + Tech.	22.9	38.3	+15.4	24.5	25.4	+ 0.9
(4) Jr. College	7.3	10.6	+ 3.3	7.0	12.3	+ 5.3
(5) College Grad.	40.6	20.2	-20.4	41.9	31.1	-10.8
(6) Graduate Study	21.9	10.6	-11.3	7.0	5.1	- 1.9
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Mean Level Scores	5.5	4.6	- 0.9	4.9	4.6	- 0.3
	X^2=26.05	d.f.=5	P<.001	X^2=6.25	d.f.= 5	.20<P<.30

Table 6. Historical Changes in Educational Expectations of Rural East Texas Girls: 1966-1972.

EXPECTATIONS	BLACK			WHITE		
	1966 (N=99)	1972 (N=94)	Change	1966 (N=131)	1972 (N=138)	Change
(1) Quit H.S.	5.1	5.3	+ 0.2	0.8	2.2	+ 1.4
(2) H.S. Grad.	4.0	4.3	+ 0.3	12.2	23.2	+11.0
(3) H.S. + Tech.	42.4	61.7	+19.3	50.4	45.6	- 4.8
(4) Jr. College	2.0	2.1	+ 0.1	8.4	8.7	+ 0.3
(5) College Grad.	20.2	17.0	- 3.2	20.6	16.7	- 3.9
(6) Graduate Study	26.3	9.6	-16.7	7.6	3.6	- 4.0
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Mean Level Scores	5.1	4.5	- 0.6	4.6	4.2	- 0.4
	X^2=11.14	d.f.=5	.02<P<.05	X^2=8.26	d.f.=5	.10<P<.20

Table F. Summary of General Status Level Differences Between 1966 and 1972 For Educational Aspirations and Expectations by Race and Sex.*

A. ASPIRATIONS

Status Level	Male						Female					
	Black			White			Black			White		
	66 (N=56)	72 (N=84)	Change	66 (N=1633)	72 (N=1393)	Change	66 (N=95)	72 (N=74)	Change	66 (N=1311)	72 (N=1181)	Change
Low (1,2)	6	16	+10	14	20	+ 6	3	6	+ 3	7	18	+11
Interm. (3,4)	30	50	+20	27	36	+ 9	48	64	+15	55	49	- 6
High (5,6)	64	34	-30	59	44	-15	48	30	-18	38	33	- 5
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

B. EXPECTATIONS

Low (1,2)	7	20	+13	20	26	+ 6	9	10	+ 1	13	25	+12
Interm. (3,4)	30	49	+19	31	38	+ 7	44	64	+20	39	35	- 4
High (5,6)	63	31	-32	49	36	-13	47	26	-21	28	20	- 8
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

*Statistical results of Chi Square tests on differences between 1966 and 1972 distributions are presented in APPENDIX B.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

This variable represents the incongruence, if any, between level of aspiration and level of expectation.[8/] Results presented in Tables 8 and 9 indicate the following general observations:

(1) There is a consistent racial difference in historical change relative to the rate of occurrence of anticipatory deflection from educational goals. Black youth demonstrated more convergence between levels of aspiration and expectation in 1972 than in 1966, and White youth demonstrated a converse pattern of change. This produced a reversal in the direction of racial differences observed in "D" deflection from 1966 to 1972. What is more, this general pattern was reflected in differential patterns of occurrence of both "+" and "-" deflection--Blacks showing a decline in both as opposed to increases for Whites.

(2) Given the race-specific historical patterns noted above, females showed substantially more change than their male counterparts in reference to both types of deflection.

(3) With the exception of Black males, changes in degree (no. of levels of difference) of deflection appeared to be spread out in the same direction as the general change by race observed.

Intensity of Aspiration

This conceptual element refers to the degree of intensity of attachment the individual entertains for the goal he has specified relative to educational attainments.[9/] Intensity scores are inversely related to degree of importance placed on the goal indicated. Results given in Tables 10 and 11 clearly point to the following general findings:

(1) Valuation of the importance of the educational goal relative to others has consistently decreased over the study period.

(2) The decrease in importance of the educational goal has been greatest among Black males and least among Black girls.

Table 8. Historical Change in Anticipatory Goal Deflections of East Texas Boys: 1966-1972.

Goal Deflection	Black[1] 66 (N=96) %	Black[1] 72 (N=94) %	Black[1] Change %	White[2] 66 (N=143) %	White[2] 72 (N=138) %	White[2] Change %
None (0)	64.6	76.6	+12.0	72.7	67.4	-5.3
Positive (+)	11.4	9.5	- 1.9	4.2	8.0	+3.8
+1	(2.1)	(5.3)	(+3.2)	(2.8)	(3.6)	(+ .8
+2	(8.3)	(3.2)	(-5.1)	(1.4)	(3.6)	(+2.2)
+3	(1.0)	(1.0)	(0)	(-)	(.8)	(+ .8)
+4	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
+5	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Negative (-)	24.0	13.9	-10.1	23.1	24.6	+1.5
-1	(15.6)	(7.4)	(-8.2)	(12.6)	(16.7)	(+4.1)
-2	(2.1)	(3.2)	(+1.1)	(4.2)	(6.5)	(+2.3)
-3	(4.2)	(1.1)	(-3.1)	(5.6)	(.7)	(-4.9)
-4	(-)	(1.1)	(+1.1)	(.7)	(-)	(- .7)
-5	(2.1)	(1.1)	(-1.0)	(-)	(.7)	(+ .7)
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

*[1] χ^2=3.7 D.F. = 2 .20<P<.30 [2] χ^2= 2.01 D.F. = 2 .30<P<.50

Table 9. Historical Change: Anticipatory Goal Deflections of East Texas Girls: 1966-1972.

Goal Deflection	Black[1] 66 (N=99) %	Black[1] 72 (N=94) %	Black[1] Change %	White[2] 66 (N=131) %	White[2] 72 (N=138) %	White[2] Change %
None (0)	57.6	76.6	+19.0	77.1	65.9	-11.2
Positive (+)	17.2	8.5	- 8.7	.8	8.8	+ 8.0
+1	(8.1)	(4.3)	(-3.8)	(.8)	(4.4)	(+3.6)
+2	(3.0)	(2.1)	(- .9)	(-)	(2.9)	(+2.9)
+3	(6.1)	(2.1)	(-4.0)	(-)	(1.5)	(+1.5)
+4	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
+5	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Negative (-)	25.2	14.9	-10.3	22.1	25.3	+ 3.2
-1	(11.1)	(6.4)	(-4.7)	(13.0)	(13.0)	(0)
-2	(7.0)	(4.3)	(-2.7)	(6.1)	(9.4)	(+3.3)
-3	(6.1)	(3.2)	(-2.9)	(1.0)	(2.9)	(- .1)
-4	(1.0)	(1.0)	(0)	(-)	(-)	(-)
-5	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

*[1] χ^2= 7.96 D.F. = 2 .02<P<.05 [2] χ^2=10.22 D.F. = 2 .001<P<.01

Table 10. Historical Changes in The Intensity of Educational Aspirations of East Texas Boys: 1966-1972

Intensity Score		Black 1966 (N=99)	Black 1972 (N=94)	Black Change	White 1966 (N=131)	White 1972 (N=138)	White Change
		%	%	%	%	%	%
+	1	48.8	38.3	-10.5	37.3	19.9	-17.4
	2	10.4	13.8	+ 3.4	11.9	10.1	- 1.8
	3	7.3	12.8	+ 5.5	7.0	13.8	+ 6.8
	4	4.2	6.4	+ 2.2	6.3	10.1	+ 3.8
	5	4.2	5.3	+ 1.1	6.3	6.5	+ 0.2
	6	3.1	10.6	+ 7.5	8.4	8.0	- 0.4
-	7	1.0	6.4	+ 5.4	2.8	10.9	+ 8.1
No Info.	0	1.0	6.4	+ 5.4	---	0.7	+ 0.7
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Mean Score		1.8	2.8	+ 1.0	2.3	3.0	+ 0.7

Table 11. Historical Changes in the Intensity of Educational Aspirations of East Texas Girls: 1966-1972

Intensity Score		Black 1966 (N=99)	Black 1972 (N=94)	Black Change	White 1966 (N=131)	White 1972 (N=138)	White Change
		%	%	%	%	%	%
+	1	44.7	33.2	-11.5	44.9	30.0	-14.9
	2	13.1	24.5	+11.4	16.0	15.9	- 0.1
	3	8.1	1.1	- 7.0	5.3	10.1	+ 4.8
	4	5.1	7.4	+ 2.3	5.3	5.8	+ 0.5
	5	1.0	5.3	+ 4.3	2.3	2.9	+ 0.6
	6	2.0	1.1	- 0.9	3.9	7.3	+ 3.4
-	7	4.0	3.2	- 0.8	2.3	7.3	+ 5.0
No Info.	0	2.0	4.2	+ 2.2	---	0.7	+ 0.7
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Mean Score		1.8	2.0	+ 0.2	1.9	2.5	+ 0.6

(3) The predominant pattern of historical change among all groups was from ranking education as No. 1 among seven life goals in 1968 to a lower rank level (distributed over most of the six lower ranks) in 1972. (See Table 14 for measures of variance on these distributions)

Grouping the seven intensity rank score alternatives (shown in Table 10) into three more inclusive "level of intensity" categories provides a clearer picture of the general pattern of changes observed, Tables 12 and 13. Except for the Black females--who demonstrated little if any change--there was a tendency to split the movement from the highest level into both bottom levels in equally substantial proportions. In two cases--Black males and White females--the change observed was predominantly from the "high" level to the "low" level: a change that must be viewed as indicative of a dramatic downward shift in valuation of education.

In summary, youth of all types demonstrated a general decrease in valuation of educational goals relative to other life ends, Table 11. This decrease had the effect of moving the distributions of rankings from a general ordering of one highly skewed toward "high importance" in 1968 to a more moderately skewed configuration in 1972. In reference to the impact of historical change on race differences, two race-specific patterns can be observed in Tables 12 and 13.

(1) Males - from Whites having higher intensity of orientation in 1968 to equivalent emphases in 1972.

(2) Females - from roughly equivalent emphases in 1968 to a higher intensity generally for Blacks in 1972.

Table 3.2. Historical Changes in the Intensity of Educational Aspirations of East Texas Boys: 1966-1972.

Intensity	Black [1] 1966 (N=[illegible])	Black [1] 1972 (N=[illegible])	Black [1] Change	White [2] 1966 (N=143)	White [2] 1972 (N=138)	White [2] Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%
High ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	-[illegible].1	69.2	50.0	-19.2
Intermediate ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ 8.8	19.6	30.4	+10.8
Low ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	+[illegible].9	11.2	18.9	+ 7.7
No Indic. (0)	1.0	9.8	+ 8.4	---	0.7	+ 0.7
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]		100.0	100.0	

[1] χ^2 = [illegible]
df = 3
P <.001

[2] χ^2 = 11.45
df =
.001 P .01

Table 3.3. Historical Changes in the Intensity of Educational Aspirations of East Texas Girls: [illegible]-1972

Intensity	Black [1] 1966 (N=[illegible])	Black [1] 1972 (N=[illegible])	Black [1] Change	White [2] 1966 (N=131)	White [2] 1972 (N=138)	White [2] Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%
High ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ 0.1	80.9	65.9	-15.0
Intermediate ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ 0.4	12.9	18.8	+ 5.9
Low ([illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible].7	6.2	14.6	+ 8.4
No Indic. (0)	[illegible].0	[illegible].0	+ [illegible].2	---	0.7	+ 0.7
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]		100.0	100.0	

[1] χ^2 = [illegible].[illegible]
df = 3
P<.[illegible]

[2] χ^2 = 8.99
df = 3
.02<P<.05

Table 14. A Comparison of Mean Intensity of Aspiration Scores and Variance in These Scores for the Two Study Periods by Race and Sex.

Race	Males			Females		
	1966	1972	Dif.	1966	1972	Dif.
	Mean Scores					
Black	1.8	2.8	+1.0	1.8	2.0	+0.2
White	2.3	3.0	+0.7	1.9	2.5	+0.6
	Variance					
Black	2.1	4.2	+2.1	2.4	2.4	0
White	3.3	4.5	+1.2	2.3	3.9	+1.6

Certainty of Expectation[10/]

Unlike other elements of orientations toward educational attainment, findings on historical change in the degree of certainty of achievement of educational expectations do not demonstrate generally strong or consistent patterns, Tables 15 and 16. Using combined categories ("Very Sure" - "Sure" and "Not Very Sure" - "Not Sure") produces distributions that indicates a general difference in historical shift by race, regardless of sex: Blacks becoming less certain over time and Whites more so (see Table 20).

Table 15. Directional Changes in the Certainty of Educational Expectations of East Texas Boys: 1966-1972.

	Black[1]			White[1]		
	1966 (N=96)	1972 (N=96)	Change	1966 (N=161)	1972 (N=139)	Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very Sure	18.8	19.1	+ 0.3	16.1	21.8	+ 5.7
Sure	44.8	35.1	- 9.7	45.4	42.0	- 3.4
Not Very Sure	30.2	39.4	+ 9.2	32.3	30.4	- 1.9
Not Sure	7.2	6.4	+ 1.2	6.3	5.8	- 0.5
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

[2] $\chi^2 = 2.12$, df = 3, $P > .10$

[2] $\chi^2 = 1.93$, df = 3, $P > .10$

Table 16. Directional Changes in the Certainty of Educational Expectations of East Texas Girls: 1966-1972.

	Black[1]			White[1]		
	1966 (N=99)	1972 (N=96)	Change	1966 (N=132)	1972 (N=139)	Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very Sure	22.2	19.1	- 3.1	29.9	22.5	- 7.3
Sure	44.9	36.5	- 8.3	33.4	47.1	+13.5
Not Very Sure	28.3	38.3	+ 9.8	15.9	23.9	+12.0
Not Sure	4.0	6.4	+ 2.4	0.7	6.5	+ 5.8
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

[2] $\chi^2 = 5.18$, df = 3, $.30 > P > .50$

[2] $\chi^2 = 19.84$, df = 3, $.001 > P > .001$

Type of Residence and Region

Initially in 1968 we purposively selected all rural, nonmetropolitan populations for study. The selected study areas did not change much in this regard by the 1972 censuses (Goedeli, 1973). The respondents were asked through a forced choice question to self-identify their type of residence and from these responses were categorized into the following groupings: "farm," "open country nonfarm" and "town and village." Table 17.[11] The analysis to be reported contained simply of comparative analysis across these three place of residence types by race-sex groupings on each status projection element considered. The general patterns of change have already been determined. If careful inspection of the comparative results indicated similar patterns across place of residence, it could be concluded that type of place was not associated with the nature of historical change in educational status projections of these youth.

Implications and Expectations

The results of comparative analysis in change in level of aspiration by place of residence for each of the race-sex groupings indicated remarkably consistent patterns of historical change, Table 18-a. Variations in amount of change did occur but these were not extensive nor generally patterned. An examination of place of residence differences in mean aspiration level across however, indicates the farm youth generally experienced a slightly greater drop in aspiration level over the six year period than other types of youth, Table 18-a.

Table 17. Distribution of Respondents Over Place of Residence Types at Two Different Study Periods by Race and Sex.

Residence Type	Black				White				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
	66 (N=98)	72 (N=98)	66 (N=99)	72 (N=94)	66 (N=145)	72 (N=138)	66 (N=131)	72 (N=138)	66 (N=473)	72 (N=468)
	%									
Farm	34	21	36	14	35	29	23	14	31	20
OCNF	34	47	44	54	21	29	26	39	30	41
T&V	29	29	19	31	43	41	51	46	38	37
Other	3	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 18. Summary of Historical Change in Educational Aspirations and Expectations of East Texas Rural Teen-Age Boys and Girls by Race and Place of Residence: 1966-1972.

	Black						White					
	Female			Male			Female			Male		
A. Aspiration Level	Farm	OCNF	T&V	Farm	OCNF	T&V	Farm	OCNF	T&V	Farm	OCNF	T&V
	Change in % (1966-1972)											
Low	+12	+ 6	- 5	+ 5	+15	+ 8	+27	+12	+ 5	+ 8	+ 3	+ 6
Intermediate	+16	+ 6	+29	+29	+15	+12	- 2	- 7	- 4	+ 2	+ 6	+15
High	-28	-12	-24	-34	-30	-20	-25	- 5	- 1	-10	- 9	-21
Mean Level Scores	-0.9	-0.4	-0.6	-1.2	-1.0	-0.8	-1.0	-0.5	-0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.7
B. Expectation Level												
Low	+ 6	- 1	- 4	+ 3	+29	+ 4	+30	+ 6	+11	- 6	+ 8	+16
Intermediate	+22	+15	+23	+27	+20	+ 2	-11	+ 4	- 7	+ 2	0	+10
High	-28	-14	-19	-30	-49	- 6	-19	-10	- 4	+ 4	- 8	-26
Mean Level Scores	-1.1	-0.6	-0.4	-0.6	-1.5	-0.5	-0.7	-0.4	-0.2	+0.3	-0.3	-0.7

The findings relative to expectations indicate also a general consistency in pattern of change across residence types, Table 18-B. The only exception involved the White farm males. These respondents demonstrated a slight increase in aspiration level over the six years. The mean expectation level scores indicate about the same range of amount of change for expectations as existed for aspirations. Again, the differences in these mean scores were not marked or consistently patterned; however, among females of both racial types, farm residents demonstrated a tendency to change more (lower) than others.

In summary, it can be concluded that in general place of residence variation *did* not correlate with different patterns of historical change in aspiration and expectation of the subjects studied. On the other hand, for girls farm residence was associated with a greater degree of change (lower) in reference to both aspirations and expectations.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Given all the consistency in patterning of change among place of residence types so far, the results on anticipatory goal deflection are somewhat startling, Table 19. In this case, meaningful place of residence differences can be observed within each of the four race-sex groupings but these are not patterned among these groupings. Consequently we list these variations below in order of their apparent magnitude:

(1) Black females - "Farm" reared differ markedly from others by demonstrating little change at all. What change does occur runs opposite to the strong tendency of the others to have experienced less goal deflection, particularly negative deflection, over the study period.

Table 19. Summary of Historical Change in Nature of Anticipatory Educational Goal Deflection Among Rural East Texas Boys and Girls by Race and Place of Residence: 1966-1972

A. Blacks	Female			Male		
Nature of Goal Defl.	Farm	OCNF	T&V	Farm	OCNF	T&V
None	= 1	+21	+27	+ 9	+21	+ 6
+	= 2	- 8	- 8	+10	-17	+ 4
-	+ 1	-13	-19	-19	- 4	-10
B. Whites						
None	= 7	- 2	-20	+ 2	- 8	-11
+	+10	+10	+ 6	+15	0	- 1
-	= 3	- 8	+14	-17	+ 8	+12

Table 20. Summary of Historical Change in Mean Intensity of Educational Aspiration Scores and Variance In These Scores for Each Race-Sex Type by Place of Residence

Race-Sex Type	Farm 1966	Farm 1972	Farm Dif.	OCNF 1966	OCNF 1972	OCNF Dif.	T&V 1966	T&V 1972	T&V Dif.
				Mean Intensity Scores					
Black-Females	2.2	3.0	+0.8	1.8	1.9	+0.1	1.4	1.6	+0.2
Black-Males	2.1	2.8	+0.7	1.4	2.7	+1.3	1.9	2.9	+1.0
White-Females	1.7	2.6	+0.9	1.8	2.9	+1.1	1.9	2.0	+0.1
White-Males	2.4	3.5	+1.1	2.3	2.3	0	2.1	3.0	+0.9
Total									
				----Variance----					
Black-Females	1.2	3.8	+2.6	2.6	1.7	-0.9	0.5	1.6	+1.1
Black-Males	3.0	4.8	+1.8	1.2	4.6	+3.4	2.1	3.5	+1.4
White-Females	2.6	4.3	+2.9	2.5	4.5	+2.0	2.7	3.1	+0.4
White-Males	3.7	4.2	+0.5	3.9	3.3	-0.6	2.8	5.4	+2.6
Total									

(2) White females - "T and V" residents indicate a marked increase in negative goal deflection as compared with a slight decrease on the part of the other two groupings, and consequently indicate a markedly higher rate of total goal deflection.

(3) White males - "OCNF" residents show a marked increase in positive goal deflection as compared with little change by others and they indicate a marked decrease in negative deflection as compared with moderate increases by others.

(4) Black males - "OCNF" demonstrates a much more substantial decrease in total goal deflection than others, which is explained by a converse tendency, as compared with others, to experience a substantially lower rate of negative deflection over time.

In summary, about all we can conclude safely from these diverse place of residence differentials is that type of place does make a difference in the patterns of historical change in the nature and occurrence of anticipatory deflection from educational goals. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the nature of the change is race-sex specific and involves, apparently, different residence types in this regard. Obviously, this produces a complex puzzle for interpretation. Clearly, however, this conclusion does support the merit of viewing anticipatory goal deflection as an analytically distinct dimension of status projections in that it apparently behaves differently than either type of status projection does when it is considered separately.

Intensity of Aspiration

Tabular comparisons of change in mean intensity scores across place of residence for each race-sex grouping clearly indicate a very general pattern of increasing scores, which means decreasing valuation of educational goals, Table 20. Only in one case--OCNF, White males--out of twelve was this pattern not observed; although it was demon-

strated to be relatively weak (less than +0.7) in three other cases. No strong or consistent pattern of differences in magnitude of change by place of residence type was observed.

A comparison of measures of change in variance measures across the study period clearly indicates a general increase in dispersion of rank scores of importance for educational goals in 1972 as compared with 1966, irrespective of place of residence. The general tendency for the respondents to increasingly vary in the intensity of their educational aspirations appears to maintain regardless of sex, race, and place of residence differences. This certainly is a finding that questions the "homogenizing" thesis of mass society theorists--these respondents appear to be coming less alike over time in this regard.[12]

Certainty of Expectation

Historical change in degree of certainty associated with attainment of educational expectation was slight or nonexistent among the race-sex groupings for all three places of residence types, Table 21. No clear patterning of place of residence differences can be observed. Consequently, it must be concluded that among the subjects studied here variation in type of place did not generally influence historical change in certainty of expectation. The only exception to this is that farm youth of all types demonstrated an increase in dispersion in 1972 over 1966 on measures of certainty and the other two place of residence types did not, Table 21.

Table 11. Summary of Historical Change in Mean Centrality of Educational Application Scores and Variance in These Scores for Each Race-Sex Type by Place of Residence.

Race-Sex Type	Rural			SMSA			Urban		
	66	72	Diff.	66	72	Diff.	66	72	Diff.
	Mean Centrality Scores								
Black-Females	2.3	2.1	-0.2	2.8	2.3	+0.3	2.1	2.4	+0.3
Black-Males	2.0	2.1	+0.1	2.4	2.3	+0.1	2.3	2.3	0
White-Females	2.2	2.4	+0.2	2.1	2.0	-0.1	2.0	2.1	+0.1
White-Males	2.4	2.4	0	2.3	2.0	-0.3	2.2	2.2	0
	Variance								
Black-Females	1.7	1.1	+0.6	0.8	1.0	+0.2	0.8	0.8	0
Black-Males	1.4	0.8	+0.2	0.7	0.7	0	1.0	0.8	-0.2
White-Females	1.4	1.2	+0.8	0.7	0.7	0	0.7	0.7	0
White-Males	1.4	0.8	+0.2	0.8	0.7	-0.1	0.7	0.7	0

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

General Nature and Magnitude of Change

An overview of major results of this study are summarized in Table 22: judgments reflected here are primarily based on observations made from the more detailed summary tables also provided, Tables 23, 24, 25, and 26.

It can be concluded from the results of this study that boys and girls of both races demonstrated change in the same direction between 1966 and 1973 in reference to level of aspiration, level of expectation, and intensity of aspiration. Levels of aspiration and expectation declined as did their intensity of valuation of their educational goals. On the other hand, differential patterns in the nature of change were observed in reference to anticipatory goal deflection and certainty of attainment of expectation. Black youth experienced less incongruence between educational aspirations and expectations in 1972 than in 1966, but they experienced a slight decrease generally in feelings of certainty about attaining their expectations.[13] White youth demonstrated directly converse patterns to those of the Black youth in both cases.

Direction or nature of change is one thing, magnitude of change is another. Except for certainty of expectation, the patterns of change observed in this study are relatively substantial. A consistent racial difference in magnitude of change between 1966 and 1972 was observed. In every case where racial differences could be judged to have occurred, Black youth experienced greater change than their White counterparts, Table 22. More specifically, there was a tendency for both type of

Table 22. Summary Tabulation of Major Findings: Patterns of Historical Change (1966-1972) Noted in Educational Status Projections of East Texas Teen-Age Youth by Race and Sex.

Educational Projection	Black		White		Racial Differences of Change	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	In Direction	In Degree
Applications	Down	Down	Down*	Down**	No	B>W
Expectations	Down	Down	Down*	Down*	No	B>W
Anticipatory Goal Deflection						
Total	Less*	Less	More*	More	Yes	B>W
"H"	Less	Less	More	More	Yes	?
"L"	Less	Less	More	More	Yes	B>W
Intensity of Application	Down	No Change*	Down	Down	No	?
Certainty of Expectation	Less*	Less*	More*	More	Yes	B>W

* Differences between 1966 and 1972 not statistically significant at the .05 level according to results of Chi Square tests.

** Chi square results indicate statistical significance at the .10 level.

Table [illegible] Summary of changes in [illegible] of Youth holding different levels of Educational Aspirations and Expectations in 1966 and 1975 by Race and Sex

	Aspirations		Expectations	
	Black	White	Black	White
Aging				
Low	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Intermediate	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
High	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mean Level Scores	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cohorts				
Low	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Intermediate	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
High	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mean Level Scores	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table [illegible] Summary of Changes in [illegible] of Occurrence of Type of Socialization Educational Goal Reflection from 1966-1975 by Race and Sex

Type of Goal Reflection	Aging		Cohorts	
	Black	White	Black	White
No Reflection	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Some Reflection	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Much Reflection	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Change Direction	More	Same	More	Less

Table [illegible] Summary of [illegible] Changes in Levels of Intensity of Educational Aspiration from 1966 to 1975 by Race and Sex

Level of Intensity	Aging		Cohorts	
	Black	White	Black	White
High	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Intermediate	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Low	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No Info.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mean Score	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Change	More	More	More	More

Table [illegible] Summary of Changes in [illegible] of Years of Schooling Completed and Attainment of Educational Aspirations from 1966 to 1975 by Race and Sex

Years of Schooling	Aging		Cohorts	
	Black	White	Black	White
Mean Years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sex	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Not Very Sex	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sex Sex	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mean Score	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Change Direction	Less	Slightly Less	Less	Slightly Less

boys to change substantially but Black boys more so than White boys. However, in reference to girls, it was more a matter of White girls changing little as compared to substantial change by Blacks.

Specific Patterns of Change
(Tables 22 through 26)

A number of important more detailed patterns of change were observed to have occurred between 1964 and 1972 in youths' status projections. These are listed in outline form below under two categories--General and Race Specific.

General Patterns

a. Aspirations and expectations for college education declined sharply.

b. Aspirations and expectations for technical training after high school graduation increased sharply except for White females.

c. A general increase was observed in proportions desiring and expecting to drop out of high school or terminate with high school graduation.

d. There was a general shift observed in rank order importance of educational goals from first place to lower rank orders. However, the bulk of the respondents still placed education at the top of their hierarchy of valuation in 1972.

Race Specific

A. Black Youth

a. Black youth showed a dramatic decrease in desire and expectation for graduate study and an equally marked increase in both types of projections for technical training after high school. By 1972 over half of the boys and two-thirds of the girls desired the latter.

b. Black youth demonstrated a sharp decrease in incongruent aspirations and expectations: both positive (expectations higher) and negative (aspirations higher) goal deflection occurred less frequently.

B. White Youth

1. White youth desired to drop-out of high school much more frequently in 1972; however, the proportion of respondents desiring this remained small (boys = 8%, girls = 4%).

2. White youth showed a tendency to experience higher rates of incongruence between aspirations and expectations, mostly in terms of positive deflection--expectation level higher than aspiration level.

3. White girls, relative to Black ones, indicated a greater magnitude of reduction in intensity of aspiration.

Impact of Place of Residence

The results clearly indicate that differences in place of residence type was not generally associated with patterns of social change and certainly not in any patterned way.

Although not related to the objectives of the study, it was discovered that there was a place of residence shift among respondents over the two surveys. There was a general tendency for less people to label themselves farm residents and, conversely, a like number to declare they lived in the open country but not on a farm--about an 11% shift in total (see Table 17). The proportion living in towns and villages did not change much over the six years (30% - 31%). The shift in residence identification noted above probably indicates a shift in subjective judgment about the nature of place of residence on the part of the two groupings (1966 and 1972) of respondents rather than a pattern of migration. It could mean either that fewer families are farming in the study area or that farm residence has taken on a negative meaning among a segment of rural young people.

DISCUSSION

Limitations

Obviously, this study is limited relative to scope of generalization in reference to the historical period and geographical area involved, and in terms of age, scholarship, and SES of respondents. The limited parameters of the investigation caution against broad generalizing of the results presented here. In terms of everything but historical period, these limitations can be overcome to some extent by cross-state comparisons utilizing comparable findings from other southern states and with findings from extant unrelated data we have on Arkansas youth from recent years (1967-1972).

Not much can be done by us to obliterate the lack of empirical data relative to past history; however, anyone who has available a good two-time study on an earlier period could repeat the study one or in the future--given a relatively stable population--and contribute to filling this void. Certainly, this opportunity is available to some of our colleagues who have been studying status projections of youth over the last several decades.

The narrow focus on education here, instead of a more wholistic focus on "aspirational frames of reference," (Morton, 1957:130-131) will be taken care of in future analyses of this data. However, there is obviously a need to try and link explanatory variables to the changes we have observed in aspirations and expectations of youth. No research studies having a broader base of data than is available from this one for any given population and more diverse populations exist next to be maintained. In addition, exploring change in future

periods through additional surveys will be required to determine whether or not the patterns we have observed are indications of short-term fluctuations or the start of long-term trends.

Theoretical Possibilities

By until the time I saw these research results, I was convinced that recent research findings strongly supported the thesis that rural youth and disadvantaged youth were not part of the "greening of America" phenomenon described by Reich (1970). If results from the other competing states across the south are similar to what we have described here, I will have to reevaluate my conclusions. These findings, coupled with the earlier results reported by Beedell on occupational status projections, could be viewed as supporting the notion that at least some of the youth studied, particularly Blacks, are being "greened." On the other hand, the historical changes noted could also be due to several other possible factors as noted below:

(1) The success of the government-industry sponsored attempt to push vocational training as a rewarding and acceptable option to a college degree.

(2) Increasing realism (pessimism) among rural and disadvantaged youth relative to their chances of experiencing dramatic vertical social mobility.

(3) Changes in the distribution of relative benefits (pay, leisure) and costs (hours on the job, anxiety) associated with different job types and different types or levels of education over recent years.

The finding that valuation of education declined substantially relative to other life goals leads us to believe that some shift in values has taken place. A dramatic shift in valuation among a small number of the

population might also explain the consistently marked proportional increase in desiring to drop out; although, this result could also be explained as an extreme reaction to the forced racial integration that took place in the schools during the study period.

Broad and substantial changes have taken place in the larger society over the period of the study. It would be surprising indeed if these did not impact on these youth and the way they cognitively structure or perceive their future. Apparently the impact has led many of them to desire and expect lower levels of education or a different type of education and to desire these goals less strongly than their earlier counterparts. Future analyses of our Texas data and of data from researchers in the other states collaborating with us should begin to produce some leads for narrowing down the theoretical alternatives discussed above.

The racial differences in historical change noted in this study do not appear to be as significant as the common patterns discussed above. It is fairly obvious that Black youth have appeared to have made an adaptation to the highly publicized difficulties they probably face in climbing the mobility ladder by moving their sights toward post-high school vocational training to a greater extent and graduate study less frequently. This should not be interpreted to mean that Black youth in general now have low educational aspirations, for they most certainly do not--many of them still desire and expect a college education.

And, while the bulk of Black youth are now aiming at post high school vocational or technical school, this also should appropriately be viewed realistically as a high educational goal, when one takes into consideration the severely limited educational attainment of their parents and the comparative quality of their educational experience through high school relative to others in the society. In fact, one must conclude for both the Black and White youth studied here that the majority still have high aspirations and expectations for educational attainment--one which clearly aims toward upward, intergenerational social mobility.

Methodological Implications

One general suggestion for future research involving interpretation of data on youths' educational projections can be gleaned from an examination of the parallel analysis of data presented here--quantitative (means) and qualitative (% distribution). While a comparison of mean level scores on aspiration and expectations across the two time periods clearly indicate consistently the general direction of change, they tend to give a misrepresentation of magnitude (under-estimate it) of change relative to the categorical comparisons. This highlights one of the problems we have when we use parametric operations on what is inherently an ordinal measure. Future research ought to examine results of both kinds of treatment for what meaning they can produce and not solely rely on one or the other.

Policy Implications

It is probably premature to suggest strongly any alterations in educational structures and practices in the communities these youth lived in or other similar ones until we have drawn our interstate comparisons and checked on the persistence of the apparent changes observed here. On the other hand, there seems to be no danger in strongly suggesting that educational policy makers at all levels ought to start paying a lot more attention to what youth are seeking in the way of educational programs and training than they have in the past. An historical shift of general interests of any magnitude among youth could easily compound an already messy public education situation in the rural and low-income areas of our society, particularly where racial interaction is involved.

FOOTNOTES

1. The panel was entitled "Panel on Historical Change in Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: A Neglected Area of Research." Panelists participating were Larry Drabick (North Carolina State), Alfred Miranda (University of Kentucky), George Ohlendorf (University of Wisconsin), Walter Slocum (Washington State) and Bill Kuvlesky (Texas A&M).

2. This collaboration took place through participation in USDA-CSRS, regional project S-61 (Objective C) and involved the following researchers: John Kelley and Mel Knapp (University of Georgia); W. A. Boyd (Clemson); John Dunkelberger (Auburn University); Lee Taylor, Pedro Hernandez, and Art Cosby (Louisiana State University); Bill Kuvlesky and Kathy Dietrich (Texas A&M). A complete annotated bibliography of reports from this study has been recently completed (Cosby, et. al., 1973).

3. The time span between the two surveys is six years for each state except Louisiana in which case it is four years. South Carolina's field work was done in 1967 and 1973.

4. The instrument will be sent on request.

5. For a detailed discussion of the efforts we made to achieve as exact comparability as possible see Dowdell (1974). Also, in reference to ensuring comparability in measurement we followed the operations reported on the initial analysis of the 1966 educational projections data (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968).

6. For a complete listing of the large number of reports carried out by the S-61 group using this scheme see the recent bibliography by Cosby and his associates (1973). Discussions of the utility of the conceptual scheme and application of it to other populations also have been reported (Oberle, 1971; Dunsavage and Kleibrink, 1971; Duncan, 1968; Venegas, 1973; Cosby, 1969; Kuvlesky, 1970; Sloan and Haney, 1971).

7. Educational aspiration is the level of education one desires if completely free to choose; it is measured according to a forced-choice, seven-category educational level scale. Educational expectation is the level of education one really expects to obtain and is measured with the same educational level scale noted above for aspirations. This method of measurement was selected so that socially significant levels of education would be discerned. The specific categories can be combined in various ways to compare the findings with those of other studies, as well as to analyze the data in more general ways. For analysis, the two lowest levels ("quit high school and never go to school again"; "quit high school and take some vocational training for a job") are combined into one because of the low number of frequencies for each of the original levels (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968: 277).

8. If these measures are incongruent for the respondent, anticipatory deflection is considered to exist. The relationship between the two measures defines the nature of the deflection: if expectation is higher than aspiration, the deflection is positive; if expectation is lower than aspiration, the deflection is negative. It should be noted that our measurement of deflection is determined by individual cases rather than by aggregate comparison of the aspirations and expectations of the race-sex groupings. Aggregate analysis would produce considerably different results, as can be observed by comparing the reported aggregate findings for aspirations with those for expectations. It should be noted that the measurement categories used also influence the rate of deflection observed. Categories of education more specific than those used in this paper would increase the rate of deflection, while more inclusive ones would decrease this rate (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968:277-8).

9. The instrument is composed of seven goals and is accompained by a question that asks the respondent to rank numerically the attainment of these goals in their order of importance to him. The possible range of scores is 1 to 7; the lower the score, the stronger the intensity of aspiration for that goal. The scores are grouped as follows: strong (1-2), intermediate (3-5) and weak (6-7). Types of goals considered were income, occupation, leisure, place of residence, family development, and religion (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968:278).

10. This measure was obtained from responses to a forced-choice stimulus question that asked respondents to categorize their feelings of certainty about actually attaining the life-time job they expected.

11. A few respondents indicated urban residence and these were grouped with the "town and village" ones for purposes of analysis. No place of 2,500 or more people existed in the study area in 1966; however, by 1972 one place did barely reach this size. Obviously, the "town and village" category embraces a wide range of sizes of place.

12. As an example of such a theory see the recent book by Rosenberg and his colleagues, Mass Society in Crisis and another on the changing American community by Roland Warren (1963: Chapters 3 and 4). In reference to youth in particular see Kuvlesky's (1973) recent synthesis of research on rural youth.

13. The findings on certainty of expectation are to be interpreted with caution for two reasons: (1) the historical changes were small and not statistically significant (at the .05 level) and (2) a recent small test-retest reliability check on the 1972 survey indicated a lack of stability in responses over a two week period (Dowdall, 1974).

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APPENDIX A

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE TEXAS STUDY COUNTIES (1960-1970)*

County and year[c]		Total Pop. (thousands)	Blacks (%)	Low Income[a] Families (%)	Med. Family Income	Unskil. Labor[b] (%)
Burleson	1960	11	21	59	2451.00	43
	1972	10	20	50	5237.00	54
Leon	1960	10	38	67	1946.00	44
	1970	9	31	33	5130.00	50
San Jacinto	1960	6	32	69	2737.00	54
	1972	7	42	54	4413.00	46

[a]1960 = Families with less than $3000 annual income.
1972 = Families with less than $6000 annual income.

[b]Includes operatives, service workers, laborers.

[c]Sources: U.S. Census Bureau Data for 1960 and 1970.

*Taken from a paper by Swedell (1972).

APPENDIX B

Table 1. Chi Square Test Results on Directional Comparisons of Personal Status Level Changes in Applications and Expectations by Race and Sex.

	Applications			Expectations		
	χ^2	D.F.	p	χ^2	D.F.	p
Black						
Male	18.13	2	<.001	21.16	2	<.001
Female	7.78	2	<.02	8.31	2	<.02
White						
Male	4.27	2	<.10, >.05	5.38	2	<.10, >.05
Female	5.76	2	<.05, >.10	5.50	2	<.05, >.10